[113 cont.]

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[113]

Gaimard in D'Urville, p. 307. D'Urville, pp. 113, 136, 176, 193, 197. Coote, p. 157. Joest, Tagebuch, p. 81. According to D'Urville, pp. 322 and 362, a native of Uea lived on Tikopia. According to Thilenius, Ethnograph. Ergebnisse aus Melanesien [Ethnographic Results from Melanesia], I, p. 27, and Globus, LXXXI, p. 135, Ndeni also trades with some of the New Hebrides; despite Codrington, did this come about through European influence?

648 Mixed marriages
177
[191]

between Vanikoro and Tikopia took place, at least among the chiefs' families. A number of Vanikorese understood the Polynesian idioms. At times Vanikoro stood in a dependent relationship with Tikopia, a situation whose aftereffects may have included the worship on Vanikoro of an atua[1] from Tikopia in D'Urville's day (2). Chiefly, however, traffic between the in-

[776]

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2. Dillon, p. 167. D'Urville, pp. 155, 217; on Vanikoro Gaimard observed a dance imported from Tikopia (in D'Urville, p. 333) and reports, p. 342, that the language of Utupua and Ndeni was known. Cf. also Lesson in Revue d'Anthropologie, V, pp. 257 ff.

dividual islands is based on commercial interests: Vanikoro obtained tapa and fine mats from Tikopia, whereas Tikopia obtained mother-of-pearl and finished articles, such as necklaces made from cowrie-like shells (?) and bows and arrows, from Vanikoro (3).

3. Dillon, p. 171.

For the northern islands as far as Sikaiana, Vanikoro was the

[313]

chief export point for wood for boat-building, because of its forests (4).

1 [atua = supernatural beings or gods--Analyst.]

4. Dalrymple, p. 153.

765 [147 cont.]
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Revue d'Anthropologie, V, pp. 267, 269. Festetics de Tolna, Chez les Cannibales, pp. 273f.

765 At the festivals for the dead, the men here appear in full regalia (5). The lament for a chief is renewed by the women for

5. D'Urville, p. 197.

587 eight days at sunrise and at bedtime (6). On Ndeni the widow

6. Gaimard in D'Urville, p. 333.

is taken as a wife by a relative, usually a brother of the deceased, and he must pay her kin group a new purchase price, which, however, is not as high as that paid by the first husband (7).

7. O'Ferrall, p. 223.

Religious Matters; Games, Music

775 The supernatural world of the Santa Cruz Islanders contains spirits of two different kinds and ranks. With some justification the one kind can be called gods, while the other, larger class, which concerns the natives even in the ordinary events of life, consists of the spirits of the deceased. According to the beliefs of the tribe to which Codrington's informants belonged (8),

● [776]

8. Codrington, The Melanesians, p. 264.

the souls after death assemble in a place called Natepapa and then go into the volcano Tinakula ("Temami"), where they are cremated and revived. Moreover, they have their actual abode there, although they are capable of making their old home

[152 cont.]
778 explicitly states that it is not a god, but the image of an ancestor and is very common (1). Tapa figures representing a spirit

1. Joest in Baessler, p. 389;
Tagebuch, p. 77.

[789] of the same name in coitus with a woman are set up as fertility magic in the coconut plantings or on posts around the island (2).

2. Edge-Partington, III, 65, No. 5.

776 When D'Urville asked the chief of Maneve who showed him the two atua he worshiped whether there were a still mightier one, [Fig. 63 appears here] he pointed out to him the peak of the principal mountain of the island as the seat of the supreme spirit, to whom, however, no cult was dedicated apparently and who did not belong to the category of spirits of the dead (3). The

3. D'Urville, pp. 178f.

figures that we can designate as gods are also found on the northern islands. On the principal island, Ndeni, as well as on the Reef Islands, Lata is worshiped as the creator of the world
[782] and of human beings. In cases of great danger at sea he is addressed, along with the duka, as a helper, and food is offered
[789] him. Another figure, Tinota or Sinota, on whose posts water is sprinkled to produce rain, is described as an old duka, but shows his affiliation with the higher category of gods through his relationship with Lata. Moreover, both show their Polynesian
[174] origin by the myth in which that relationship is mentioned and
773 which is closely related to certain Maui myths. Sinota twice destroys a boat that Lata built for himself, and Lata twice restores it through magic. The second time, however, a splinter is lacking, which has fallen into Sinota's bag and betrays him as the culprit. Moreover, his assertion that the canoe belongs to him proves to be false, since he is unable to say the

[152 cont.]

723 incantation. Lata then builds a second boat, which the men of the village are unable to move from the spot because it is so heavy, but which moves by itself from the bush to the village when Lata sings his magic song. Sinota cannot do that either. Finally Lata plays a trick on his rival by tying hibiscus fiber over the cords of coconut fiber with which he has lashed together the parts of his canoe, and convincing Sinota that one [153] must use cords of hibiscus fiber for binding the parts of the boat. Then on his journey, when he has no more food, he makes a leftover nut bear fruit; on a line that has been tossed out a rat comes on board with a pouch from which water gushes forth (1). -- A god who lives in heaven, Tangiteala, from Taumako, is even more clearly shown to be a Polynesian divinity since in prayers he is addressed as Tangaloa. Offerings are made to him shortly before sunrise, and at the same time a triton horn is blown from a tree. In offering a sacrifice or a prayer to him no one may carry bows and arrows; the god would kill him. Heavy thunderstorms are a sign of his wrath; the occupants of boats that have been driven off course pray to him for favorable winds, and, after a safe landing, offer him a suckling pig, and the offerer sprinkles the milk of an unripe coconut on

776 782

[778] 304 532

Fig. 63.
Spirit figure of wood, white with black painting (menata, R.-J.-M. 4004, Joest Coll.); 27 1/2 cm. high.

[821]

1. O'Ferrall, pp. 227f. Codrington, pp. 167, 201.

[153 cont.]
776 [782] tree leaves (2).

2. O'Ferrall, pp. 229, 230. Cf. Foy, Arch. f. Religionswiss., X, p. 513. In Dalrymple, p. 158, there is a story told by a Sikaiana man on Taumako about a devil Terua who speaks to human beings out of a piece of wood, often touches their chests with something cold, and prophesied the arrival of the Spaniards, but it is uncertain whether the story refers to Taumako or Sikaiana. I suspect the latter. Terua is probably identical with Taaroa.

773 A version of the twin myth is also native to Taumako. The twins are conceived by two lizards who have slipped into the mother's stomach, and when they are grown, they kill two man-eating monsters, a man Tepkakhola and a pig Ulaka. Other myths tell about the sun and moon, which in former times traveled together. When the sun noticed that their combined rays dried up the earth, it contrived by a ruse to have the moon fall into a swamp, and while it was washing itself, the sun hastened on a considerable distance. Since the moon wished to overtake the sun, it could not finish washing itself, hence the spots on the moon. Another story that is probably a faded moon-myth is about a man who in a canoe escapes from his father who has a hundred wives, is recued, half-starved, by a tree, and is then taken up to the heavens by the stars. He cuts the children out of the wombs of his fathers' wives and lets them collect money for themselves. Finally, he is led back home by the stars and kills his father. Other myths of the Reef Islands have to do with the origin of the volcanic island Tinakula, which, according to one version, was originally a man, but

[153 cont.]
773 according to another, a piece of the main island. The stones which the volcano ejects supposedly always go back in again and are hurled out anew (3).

3. O'Ferrall, pp. 224, 225, 228, 230ff.

775 The mythological position of the spirits that were associ-
776 ated with the chief Natei and made him rich and powerful is uncertain. They [154] dwelt in the interior of Ndeni, and it is questionable whether we are dealing with spirits of the dead or other mythological beings (1). White people were formerly re-
[609]

1. Codrington, p. 167.

garded as spirits; when a European ship approached, no one dared speak aloud, and sick persons stayed far from the shore so that the Whites could not see them and cast a spell on them (2).

2. O'Ferrall, p. 225. Joest in Baessler, p. 388.

778 Edge-Partington shows illustrations of amulets and one that was worn like a finger ring, which, according to him, contains the teeth of famous warriors in the little tapa bundles and helped the wearer make good bow-shots, as well as a tusk and stones in the form of sling-stones, which are added to the packets of feather money and are said to be more highly prized than the money itself; their actual function has not been determined (3).

3. Edge-Partington, I, 158, No. 3; 163, Nos. 5-7.

535 We have already spoken of traces of the presence of masks (4). Other dances are performed by men and women

4. Cf. p. 139.

/207 cont./

778

actually only report on the worship of certain trees and how they are made into duka sticks after they die. There is still much confusion here to be clarified.]

Fig. 52. Carvings representing a fish with a smaller one in its mouth and a human figure, carved into cuttlebone, painted red and black (Ba V 1882 and 1878); 24 and 27 cm. long.

789

Fig. 53. Amulet of wood, worn on a neck cord; 1/2 natural size. (From a drawing by Speiser.)

532

[Likewise on Matema, each village is said to worship a particular deity to whom food offerings are brought; the spirits of the dead represented by the duka sticks are said to act as mediators between the deity and /Fig. 52 appears here/ human beings (5).]

776 778 [715]

5. [Coombe, pp. 199 f. The deity probably corresponds to the village gods of Nitendi, which are represented by the wooden statuettes (cf. above, p. 116).]

3:Davenport E-6 (1958-1960)1962
CN13 Santa Cruz CN15

287
436 the center like a scroll, the shingling of the feathered surface resembling the scales of a snake when its spine is flexed.

All three of the skills involved in the [776] manufacturing of feather money are be- [463] lieved to have been given to mortals by munificent spirits who still inhabit the island, keeping a watchful eye on the

[+99 (B)]

3:Davenport B-5 (1860-1880)1962
CHI3 Santa Cruz CHI3

436 work of their protégés. None of the tasks
463 requires exceptional skill or a lengthy
287 apprenticeship, but the craftsman de-
[776] pends on secret incantations and talis-
[789] mans to keep in close communion with the spirits. The right to pursue a currency-making skill comes with the inheritance of these magic secrets; no

[799(c)]

2:Davenport E-5 (1960-1960)1962
CN13 Santa Cruz CN13

435 money changing specialize in it and
436 make a profit. These transactions take
[463] place before an informal gathering of witnesses in the men's clubhouse of a village, where the pieces of currency are draped over a horizontal bar for close comparison. Regardless of who has initiated the deal, the piece of greatest value (the "high piece") is hung over the center of the bar. Alongside
● [776] it (and always in the direction of the
[778] Nembo River, a spring-fed stream symbolically associated with the currency spirits) is hung the "base piece," the most valuable of the belts to be exchanged for the high piece. On the other side is hung the "crown piece," the piece that makes up the difference in value between the base piece and the high piece. Values are matched in terms of the 10-point scale. For example, if the high piece is an average No. 6 and the base piece is a fine No. 7, a middling No. 7 may suffice as a crown.

In this manner the par value of the high piece is agreed on. But the price at which it now actually sells is something else again. Because high-value currency is scarcer than low-value currency, the owner of the high piece is a seller in a seller's market. The buyer (the owner of the base and crown pieces) must offer additional currency. It is not only that the high piece is newer; there are fewer new pieces in circulation. Hence market value is correlated to scarcity. The greater the par value of the high piece, the greater the spread between this value and the market price. (It is as though a $10 bill were worth a little more than two fives and a $20 bill worth more than two tens by a still larger margin.) It is the difficulty and expense of obtaining high-value pieces on the exchange market that ultimately leads a man to contract with the three currency specialists for a new piece.

438 Since all the feather currency originates on Santa Cruz Island, it must flow continually from its source to the Reef and Duff islands, where it is not manufactured. To maintain this one-way flow of currency the Reef Islanders have traditionally exported some of their
[595] women to Santa Cruz. Today the wom-
[548] en go only as wives but once some went as concubines. Concubines were clearly distinguished from wives: they were shared by a group of men; they did no gardening or other domestic chores; having no dwelling of their own, they lived in the men's clubhouse. On the other hand, a concubine's possessors

[4 102(c)]